

## Message Text

SECRET

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY NEA:ALATHERTON, JR./HLK  
APPROVED BY NEA - ALFRED L. ATHERTON, JR.  
S/S - FVORTIZ  
S - MR. BARBIAN (BY PHONE)

----- 008191

O 200107Z APR 76 ZFF4  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 094984 TOSEC 100078

NODIS  
FOR SECRETARY FROM ATHERTON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EG, US, LE, SY

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: RESPONSE TO FAHMY'S COMMENTS  
ON YOUR LAST MESSAGE (S/S 7608229 )

REF: CAIRO 5273

1. YOU WILL HAVE SEEN EILTS' REPORT IN REFTTEL OF HIS  
MEETING WITH FAHMY TO CONVEY THE MESSAGE YOU APPROVED  
SUNDAY. IT IS APPARENT THAT FAHMY REMAINS UNCONVINCED  
THAT OUR POSITION TOWARD LEBANON CRISIS IS AS WE HAVE  
DESCRIBED IT TO HIM, AND POSSIBLY NOTHING SHORT OF A  
PUBLIC DENUNCIATION OF SYRIAN EFFORTS IN LEBANON WILL  
CHANGE HIS MIND. WE ARE PUTTING TOGETHER THE FULLER  
ANALYSIS YOU PROMISED TO FAHMY AND SADAT WITH A VIEW TO  
SENDING IT TO YOU TUESDAY IN CALIFORNIA. YOU MAY WISH  
TO DISCUSS THIS AT OUR LEBANON MEETING WEDNESDAY MORNING;

2. MEANWHILE, YOU MAY WISH TO CONSIDER A BRIEF FURTHER  
INSTRUCTION TO EILTS TO DEAL WITH SOME OF THE GROSSER MIS-

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CONCEPTIONS THAT FAHMY EXPRESSED TO HIM. FOLLOWING IS A

SUGGESTED MESSAGE FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION.

3. BEGIN TEXT:

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IMMEDIATE CAIRO

NODIS  
FOR AMBASSADOR FROM SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EG, US, SY, LE

SUBJECT: FAHMY'S REACTION TO SECRETARY'S LAST MESSAGE  
ON LEBANON

REF: CAIRO 5273

PLEASE INFORM FAHMY THAT I HAVE READ CAREFULLY THE  
REPORT OF YOUR MONDAY CONVERSATION WITH HIM WHEN YOU  
DELIVERED MY LATEST MESSAGE ON LEBANESE SITUATION. I  
WILL PLAN TO SEND OUR FULLER ANALYSIS TO YOU FOR SADAT  
AND FAHMY ON WEDNESDAY FOLLOWING MY RETURN TO WASHINGTON  
FROM CALIFORNIA. MEANWHILE, HOWEVER, I WOULD LIKE TO  
CONVEY A FEW PRELIMINARY REACTIONS TO HIS COMMENTS  
TO YOU, SINCE I AM CONCERNED THAT WE DO NOT SEEM TO BE  
GETTING THROUGH TO HIM.

ON THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT WE HAD GIVEN SYRIA  
A "GREEN LIGHT" ON LIMITED SYRIAN INTERVENTION, THE  
SEQUENCE OF EVENTS WAS THE REVERSE OF THE WAY FAHMY  
DESCRIBES THEM. WHEN THE SYRIANS APPROACHED US THROUGH  
THE FRENCH AND KING HUSSEIN ABOUT THEIR DESIRE TO INTER-  
VENE MILITARILY, IT WAS CLEAR THAT THEY ALREADY HAD  
FORCES IN LEBANON UNDER THEIR CONTROL WHICH WERE ABOUT  
AT THE LIMIT OF WHAT WE JUDGED WOULD TRIGGER AN ISRAELI  
REACTION. AS WE INFORMED FAHMY AT THE TIME  
(STATE 74949), WE INFORMED THE SYRIANS BOTH DIRECTLY  
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AND THROUGH THE FRENCH THAT IN OUR VIEW ISRAEL WOULD  
MOVE IF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF SYRIAN FORCES IN LEBANON,  
INCLUDING THOSE ALREADY THERE AND EVEN THOUGH MIXED WITH  
LOCAL OR OTHER (E.G., PALESTINIAN) NON-SYRIAN FORCES,  
EXCEEDED A BRIGADE IN SIZE OR IF THEY WERE TO EMPLOY  
HEAVY WEAPONS. SINCE WE ESTIMATED THAT THE SYRIANS  
HAD ALREADY NEARLY A BRIGADE IN LEBANON, THIS WAS CLEARLY  
MEANT TO MAKE CLEAR THAT FURTHER MOVEMENT WOULD RUN HIGH

RISK OF ISRAELI REACTION. IT WAS DESIGNED TO BE A "RED LIGHT" NOT A GREEN LIGHT FOR FURTHER SYRIAN MILITARY

INTERVENTION.

SO FAR AS OUR "ARRANGING" LIMITS OF SYRIAN INTERVENTION WITH ISRAELIS IS CONCERNED, YOU SHOULD TELL FAHMY THAT ASAD HAS NOT RECEIVED MURPHY SINCE THEIR MEETING IMMEDIATELY AFTER LATTER'S RETURN TO DAMASCUS. OUR LATEST COMMUNICATION FROM ASAD, PASSED TO MURPHY INDIRECTLY, WAS TO REJECT AS AN "ULTIMATUM" THE WARNING WE CONVEYED AT THE END OF LAST WEEK CONCERNING THE SYRIAN FORCES SENT INTO LEBANON. THIS WARNING WAS NOT BASED ON ANY PRECISE DEFINITION OF THEIR LIMITS GIVEN US BY THE ISRAELIS, SINCE THEY HAVE NOT REPEAT NOT DONE SO, BUT ON OUR BEST JUDGMENT OF WHAT THE REALITIES ARE.

THE FACT THAT THE ISRAELIS HAVE NOT REACTED TO SYRIAN INTERVENTION TO DATE, WHEN THEY HAVE REACTED TO MUCH LESS IN THE PAST, IS LARGELY THE RESULT OF OUR HAVING PERSUADED THEM THAT THEIR INTERVENTION NOW WOULD ONLY MAKE MATTERS WORSE AND INCREASE, RATHER THAN DIMINISH, THE RISK OF RENEWED AREA HOSTILITIES.

WITH RESPECT TO FAHMY'S DESIRE FOR A FULLER REPORT ON OUR TALKS WITH HUSSEIN AND ZAID RIFAI, WE HAVE ALREADY CONVEYED THE MAIN SUBSTANCE WITH REGARD TO LEBANON (STATE 77803) WHICH WAS THE DOMINANT SUBJECT FOR DISCUSSION DURING HUSSEIN'S VISIT, AND WITH REGARD TO OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH HUSSEIN OF THE NON-BELLIGERENCY CONCEPT (STATE 88411). HUSSEIN AND RIFAI MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY CONSIDER THEMSELVES BOUND BY THE RABAT SUMMIT DECISION AND THAT, IN THE ABSENCE OF AN ISRAELI OFFER

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OF TOTAL WITHDRAWAL, THEY WERE NOT INTERESTED IN TAKING ANY NEGOTIATING INITIATIVES. WITH RESPECT TO UNDOF RENEWAL, IT WAS HUSSEIN'S VIEW THAT ASAD WILL NOT REPEAT NOT AGREE TO A RENEWAL IN MAY UNLESS HE CAN GET A SUBSTANTIAL POLITICAL PRICE -- E.G., LINKAGE TO A RESOLUTION OF THE KIND WE VETOED IN JANUARY. WE MADE CLEAR TO HUSSEIN THAT THIS WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION BUT, AS INDICATED IN MY LAST MESSAGE, WE HAVE HAD NO DISCUSSIONS DIRECTLY WITH ASAD ABOUT UNDOF RENEWAL QUESTION.

FINALLY, PLEASE TELL FAHMY I WILL BE IN FURTHER TOUCH WITH HIM SHORTLY AND MEANWHILE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY VIEWS PRESIDENT SADAT AND HE MAY WANT TO CONVEY IN RESPONSE TO THE QUESTIONS I POSED IN MY LAST MESSAGE.

END TEXT.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

4. DRAFTED:NEA:ALATHERTON, JR.

APPROVED:NEA:ALATHERTON, JR.

CLEARED:S/S

ROBINSON

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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**TAGS:** PFOR, MPOL, EG, US, LE, SY, (SADAT, ANWAR), (FAHMY, ISMAIL)  
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